

THE REMONSTRANCE

AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

BOSTON, JANUARY, 1914

The Remonstrance is published quarterly by the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women. It expresses the views of women in Massachusetts, Maine, Rhode Island, New York, Illinois, Iowa, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Connecticut, Maryland, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont, New Jersey, Wisconsin, Ohio, Virginia and other states.

Any one who desires to receive the quarterly numbers for one year can do so by enclosing 25 cents in stamps to the Treasurer,

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GIVING OR FORCING?

MEMBERS of the Massachusetts legislature, or of the legislatures of other states, who are urged to vote this winter for suffrage bills or amendments, should remember that what they are really asked to do is not to give the ballot to women, but to force it upon them.

That is what it really amounts to. The suffragists are admittedly a minority among women. As a matter of fact,—though this they do not admit—they are a small minority. Tested in any way one pleases,—by the membership of their organizations, by the signers to their petitions, or by the votes cast at school elections,—they are a small minority.

Actions speak louder than words. If the suffragists do not know that they are a small minority, why do they always bitterly oppose every proposal to submit the question to a referendum of women's votes? This course is inconsistent in two ways. First, theoretically; for they clamor for "votes for women," yet, on the fundamental question whether women shall have votes they are unwilling that women should vote. Second, practically; for their case would be won if they could once show that the majority of women want to vote.

That would be all that would be needed. The legislatures would yield; the male electorates would yield; and the suffrage would come as a matter of course, for the average man is disposed to give the average woman what she wants. The only reason that can be given why the suffragists do not take this short and easy way to the suffrage is that they know that the great majority of women are not with them.

Massachusetts legislators can hardly have forgotten how the suffragists acted last year with reference to the Drury bill, which proposed to allow women to vote upon the suffrage question. If they will look up the records in other states, they will find that invariably,—in Rhode Island, in New York, in South Dakota, in Indiana, and in other states in which a similar proposal has been made the suffragists have opposed it vehemently, and have denounced the legislators who introduced it as enemies of their cause. If suffragists can point to a single instance in which they have supported such a proposal, THE REMONSTRANCE will gladly print the facts.

Let legislators then make no mistake. What the suffragists ask them to do is to override the fundamental principle of democracy,—the rule of the majority—and to impose upon the majority of women, at the demand of a small but noisy minority, what they do not want and never have asked for.

It is a fact worth remembering that every state in the Middle West in which the question of Woman Suffrage has been submitted to the voters has rejected it by an overwhelming majority: Ohio by a majority of 87,455; Wisconsin by a majority of 91,479; Michigan by a majority of 96,144. This explains why the Illinois suffragists did not dare to ask for a constitutional amendment, but pushed through the legislature by a secret lobby a limited suffrage bill of doubtful constitutionality.

(For The Remonstrance)

LET US TRUST MASSACHUSETTS MEN.

Are they then recreant in whom we trust,

The men who are our brothers, husbands, sons?

Will they not serve our needs, except a "Must"

Be thundered at them like discharge of guns?

When have they failed us, when,—

Our Massachusetts men?

Much have we asked (and when were we denied?),

That laws be bettered for the common weal.

Again we asked not: truthfully decide

If theirs or ours was then the want of zeal,—

If we have better been

Than Massachusetts men?

Our sisters toil and falter. Labor's net

Cuts to the quick the struggling lives therein.

Is it because we beg in vain, that yet The weakling perishes? Can we not win

Succor of voice or pen

From Massachusetts men?

Yes, surely, in a Commonwealth that stands

Well forward among states, for righteous laws.

Let us entrust to these same faithful hands

Which long have helped, our welfare and our cause.

Care for us now as then,

True Massachusetts men!

Lynn.

Ada B. Comstock.

BISHOP THOMAS of the Episcopal diocese of Wyoming is quoted by the Springfield Republican as saying that, in that state, neither perceptible good nor perceptible harm has come from woman suffrage; but he adds that women take political accusations much more seriously and hold the sting longer.

OUT IN THE OPEN.

The year 1913 was marked by the most radical and outspoken utterances of feminism ever made in the United States, and intelligent women no longer have any excuse for doubting either the destructive nature of its teachings or the close relation which it bears to suffragism. All suffragists are not feminists, but practically all feminists are suffragists, and conspicuous among the younger leaders of the suffrage movement in this country are women who do not hesitate to declare their sympathy with feminism.

A series of articles in McClure's Magazine by Inez Milholland (now Mrs. Boissevain) first drew public attention to what is implied in "Votes for Women" in the thoughts of these ardent workers. It predicted that "this sudden liberation of an entire sex from a sex-property enslavement" will mean "a revolution of a new and bewildering kind, touching and changing life at every point," and "changing the institutions that we have until now regarded as basic to civilization itself." "The situation is confused," said Miss Milholland, "by the fact that a large proportion of the new voters are women of the old type, bred to another standard. But it will not be long before the steady influx to the voting ranks of those millions of younger women whose impressions are being formed in the more alert, stirring air of to-day, will bring the real issues more sharply before us." "Among the institutions most certain to be touched and changed," she added, "are the home and marriage itself."

These utterances called forth so many protests from the general public that Mrs. Oliver Belmont—one of those older women held up to gentle ridicule by Miss Milholland—attempted to neutralize their effect by a counter article in Hearst's Magazine, in which she asserted that the views in question were only held by a "few hot-headed young women."

But as soon as Harper's Weekly,

under its new management, became the avowed organ of the feminist movement, Mrs. Winifred Harper Cooley, in a two-page article called "The Younger Suffragists," re-affirmed Miss Milholland's statements, disposing of Mrs. Belmont and her group by calling them "suffragists of a past decade" who "have not kept ahead of the times," scoffing good-naturedly at those conservative suffragists who "claim the vote as 'wives' and 'mothers' and whose attitude the public applauds as 'agreeably housewifely,' and presenting at length the point of view of the women who "consider the vote the merest tool, a means to an end—that end being a complete social revolution."

On "economic independence" for married as well as single women, Mrs. Cooley, of course, insists strongly. "Many women," she says, "believe that it is absurd for an able-bodied woman to be supported by a man." Of the habits of the average husband and father she takes the view so fashionable among feminists to-day. "The majority of women," she says, "have always been constrained to a monogamous existence; but no sane person would maintain that monogamy actually exists anywhere, except in rare cases."

Of possible remedies for existing immorality, Mrs. Cooley discourses thus: "There is a violent altercation going on continually, within the ranks of feminists in all countries, regarding this question. The conservative women reformers think the solution is in hauling men up to the standard of virginal purity that has always been set for women. The other branch, claiming to have a broader knowledge of human nature, asserts that it is impossible and perhaps undesirable to expect ascetism from all men and women."

The view of the branch with "broader knowledge" chanced to be set forth at almost exactly the same time, in the English Review—no cheap, flimsy publication of an insignificant group of eccentrics, but

a handsomely-printed magazine in which the work of Galsworthy and Arnold Bennett frequently appears—by Mrs. Walter Gallichan, the author of a book called "The Truth About Women," in which she states that "wherever women are in subjection, there the idols of purity and chastity are set up."

In the Review Mrs. Gallichan predicts that "women will go a step further toward freedom than men have dared to go," speaks of "the foolishness of women preaching to men the old doctrine of Puritanical restrictions," insists that "a moral code that has failed, as I think, so hopelessly for women can never be forced on men," and pleads for illicit relationship in these words: "I believe if there were some open recognition of these partnerships outside of marriage, not necessarily permanent, there would be many women ready to undertake such unions gladly; there would even be some women, as well as men, who, I believe, would prefer them to the present marriage system that binds them permanently to one partner for life. The recognition of these contract-partnerships would prevent the ostracism which at present falls on the discarded mistress."

The publication, as a special feature of the November Century, of a startlingly radical defense of "The Militant Women" is one of the most significant events of the year. The Century has always made its appeal to a serious, conservative body of readers, and has probably numbered among its subscribers more of the church-going class than any other high-priced magazine. If feminism finds its way into the Century, feminism is unquestionably here in American life, no dream of a few theorists, no negligible quantity, but an active, working force, to be reckoned with.

The brilliant writer of the Century's article, Miss Edna Kenton, sees militancy as but one symptom of "the general unrest that is burrowing beneath old codes, and undermining old values and ideals." "Votes for Women," she says, "is a near and insignificant goal compared with the stretches that lie beyond that simple, first step. . . It is sex war, who doubts it? . . . Women are thinking at last not in men's terms, but in their own, and thought in a slave class is always dynamic. . . They must give up for a time any hope of what has heretofore been the aim of the human

female, the approbation and the approval of men. . . Of all evils in the world, the helplessness of woman is the greatest; not their material or political helplessness, but their spiritual helplessness, upon which all their other ineptitudes gather like barnacles. There is rising revolt among women against the unspeakable dulness of unvaried home life. It has been a long, deadly routine, a life-servitude imposed on her for ages in a man-made world. . . The world has been made by men for themselves, and the women in it have been set aside from life, no less in the Christian home than in the harem."

The note of hostility to religion is struck more clearly still in a later sentence. "It was St. Paul who laid down the Christian ideal for women; nothing invented of man has ever had a more stultifying effect upon the character and morals of women and of men."

The Atlantic Monthly opened its December number with an article on "Feminist Intentions" by Mr. W. L. George. "Suffrage," said Mr. George, "is but part of the greater propaganda. . . The methods of feminism are to have revolutionary results, are destined to be revolutionary; as a convinced but cautious feminist, I do not think it honest or advisable to conceal this fact. I have myself been charged by a very well-known English author with having 'let the cat out of the bag' in my little book, 'Women and To-morrow.' Well, I do not think it right that the cat should be kept in the bag. Feminists should not want to triumph by fraud. As promoters of a sex war, they should not hesitate to declare it. . . The Feminists recognize no masculine or feminine 'spheres,' and they propose to identify absolutely the conditions of the sexes. . . It is no wonder that the feminists should have designs upon the most fundamental of human institutions, marriage and motherhood. . . Though they are not in the main prepared to advocate free union, they are emphatically arrayed against modern marriage, which they look upon as slave union."

It is not a pleasant task to draw attention to utterances like these. To quote them, even, is distasteful. But it is right that conservative men and women should recognize what the teachings of feminism are, and what headway they are making among us.

WOMEN POLITICIANS.

The use which the political woman is likely to make of her political power, when she gets it, is well illustrated by the course pursued by Mrs. McCormick, Mrs. Sherman M. Booth and other Illinois suffragists in connection with the election of a Judge of the Supreme Court in the Fifth District last October.

Judge Puterbaugh, who was the Republican candidate, was a man of unblemished character, with a fine record on the bench. The district was normally Republican. But Mrs. McCormick and her following were concerned because he was not a suffragist, and feared that he would not lean toward the suffrage side when the question of the validity of the Illinois suffrage law came before the Supreme Court for decision. For this reason, and for this reason only, they undertook to compass his defeat. They made no secret of their motive. In a speech at Lacon, October 17, Mrs. McCormick said:

"The Woman Suffrage law is not safe yet. . . We know there is a technical point in the verbiage that may be misconstrued if the Judge desires to do so. We women felt that we could not sit still when a Judge was to be chosen who will have as much power over Chicago as over the rest of the State."

Accordingly, Mrs. McCormick and her associates held mass meetings in the district, inserted full-page advertisements in the newspapers and made personal canvasses of the voters, ostensibly in the interest of the Progressive candidate, Arthur H. Shay, with the result of drawing off enough Republican votes to elect the Democratic candidate, Charles C. Craig.

If there is any department of government which should be free from any suspicion of partisanship, it is the judicial. The question which will have to be decided in Illinois is purely one of constitutional interpretation. Every judge on the bench should approach it with a mind free from bias as to the particular measure at

issue. Yet Mrs. McCormick and her associates went out of their way to promote the election of a candidate who, they hoped, might be led by his suffrage views to lean to the suffrage side of this judicial question.

Happily all suffragists,—let it be said to their credit—are not of this type. Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch, in a letter in the Chicago Record-Herald of October 17, deprecated the course of Mrs. McCormick and her associates in stumping the Fifth District against Judge Puterbaugh, and said:

"Some women, and some men too do not know that it is wrong to try to commit a judge to a particular decision in advance of the trial or hearing. It is very much more important for us all to maintain the fairness and impartiality of our courts than to obtain a favorable decision in any one case or a decision establishing the validity of the statute,—even the woman suffrage statute. . . We should spurn any victory that might be obtained for the woman suffrage law by influencing a judge outside of court or in any other way than by the persuasion of fair, legal argument."

These are words of truth and soberness, but they did not avail to stop the McCormick campaign.

DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, in a recent address at Newark, is quoted as deploring "the position of humiliation now occupied by American women" in that, while in other countries women are governed by men of their own nationality, here they must submit to the dictates of men of every nationality, race, color and condition. This recalls Dr. Shaw's earlier utterance against "men with foreign names" which a good many suffragists thought injudicious. But does Dr. Shaw really think that the foreign-born woman who makes this country her home is, in some mysterious way, more truly American than her foreign-born husband? Or would she like to shut out from the suffrage all men,—and women—of "foreign names"?

"10-MINUTE-A-DAY HOUSE-KEEPING."

So runs the heading under which the interviewer of The New York Tribune describes the household arrangements of "the beautifullest suffragette," formerly Miss Inez Milholland, now Mrs. Boissevain.

"Housekeeping," she said serenely to the reporter. "It doesn't bother me at all. I don't let it bother me. I get my housekeeping for the day done in ten minutes. In ten minutes from the time I leave my room, I am ready to go down town. I leave things in train for the housekeeping to be done by some one who is fitted to do it, who knows how to do it, while I, who am most inexpert in housekeeping, go to my law office, at No. 115 Broadway, and earn my living at my own particular job.... There is absolutely no reason why a woman who doesn't like housework and can do something else better should be tied down to housework. Why," said the newest suffrage bride, with shining eyes, "I should go crazy if I had to do housework one whole day."

"Children, Mrs. Boissevain admitted, complicate matters for the woman who wants to be out in the world. 'Young children need their mother. But the age at which they can be left to others is much less than formerly it was supposed to be. At three, now, children can be at kindergarten, and it is good for them to associate with other children.'"

These details of one woman's private life would be trivial, but for the fact that they illustrate the principle for which so many of the younger suffragists contend—the principle that "a woman should be in her home as a man is, no more." Mrs. Boissevain is herself a conspicuous example of the type of woman to which such a principle appeals, a woman of exceptional talent and training with an exceptional career open before her. Such a woman may have a two-fold reason for liking to "earn her living at her particular job"—the job is attractive and it promises to pay so well that she can provide a competent housekeeper for her home. (Not all of us would admit that money will provide some one to fill

a mother's place for children, even at "three" but that is not the present point.)

But how about the average woman, whom Mrs. Boissevain and her group of thinkers seldom seem to take into account? Are the young girls who crowd the morning trains, the young girls who turn out when the factory-bells ring, going to work that is pleasanter or healthier or better-paid than the work of the average house? Would *their* happiness be increased by keeping on with such work after marriage? Would *they* be able to earn enough to pay "some one who is fitted to do it" for taking care of the house they had left?

The theory of "woman's economic independence" is largely based on this narrow, partial view of life, seen from the standpoint of a few brilliant women, with exceptional careers possible to them. It is not a theory that promises any gain to the woman of average gifts and training.

Students of modern conditions regret that, with the introduction of machinery, so many men must spend their days doing over and over again the same monotonous bit of work, with no chance for initiative, and none of the delight that comes from seeing a finished product. They regret that so many men must work under a master, with the sense of personal independence almost gone. So far, woman, in the care of her own house, has retained what too many men have lost,—work that offers variety, that gives large room for initiative and that has the supreme satisfaction of being done for those she loves. It is extraordinary that any movement calling itself progress should wish her to surrender this vantage-ground.

A SIGNIFICANT VOTE.

There was submitted to the voters of Massachusetts last November a proposed amendment to the constitution permitting women to act as notaries public.

This proposition met with no op-

position in either of the legislatures which acted upon it. It was not opposed by any party or group, nor by any newspaper. Massachusetts women have long been admitted to the bar, and no reasonable argument could be advanced against permitting them to act as notaries. It was generally assumed that the proposed amendment would be adopted by a nearly unanimous vote. Yet it was rejected by a vote of 154,691 in favor to 181,343 opposed,—an adverse majority of 26,652.

How is this vote to be accounted for? The only reasonable explanation is that the men of the state look upon the way in which the suffrage movement is being pressed as a menace to government, and feel that it is time to check the movement. They found upon the ballot a proposition to extend the privileges of women, and, harmless as the proposition was in itself, they seized the opportunity to express their attitude toward the feminist craze. As the Boston Herald of November 27 said:

"It is axiomatic that if, on a full and perceiving vote, a majority of nearly 30,000 opposes letting women perform the entirely simple and harmonious duties of a notary public, there would be a very sufficing majority against the extension to them of complete suffrage."

NOT FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

(Gov. Pothier of Rhode Island, at Pawtucket, Oct. 28)

I do not believe in the woman suffrage movement, because I feel quite sure that woman's sphere is not in the political arena, but rather in the home and in circles such as this. Here she can become a social force, and influence even the best policies of a state or a community. That influence is already felt in legislation. Humanitarian reforms in penal institutions, in the school, in industries, have received in Rhode Island and in New England the lively and intelligent support of women. They have been the ardent advocates of measures which are now the law of this commonwealth, and I have always, in my official position, given a respectful hearing to their just demands for social betterment.

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WOMEN'S VOTE IN CALIFORNIA.

According to an article in The Woman's Journal for October 11, there were about 613,626 women entitled to register in California in 1912. Hon. Frank C. Jordan, Secretary of State for California, is reported by the same authority as saying: "We have no means of ascertaining the separate vote of women, but it looks significant that the vote of 1912 is 313,883 greater than that of 1910."

If this increase in the total vote were due wholly to the women's vote, it would mean that only a little more than one-half of the women entitled to register and vote did so. But there is another consideration not recognized either by Mr. Jordan or The Woman's Journal,—namely, that the vote in a presidential year is invariably larger than at an ordinary election. For example, the vote in California in the presidential election of 1908 was 118,947 greater than at the state election in 1906.

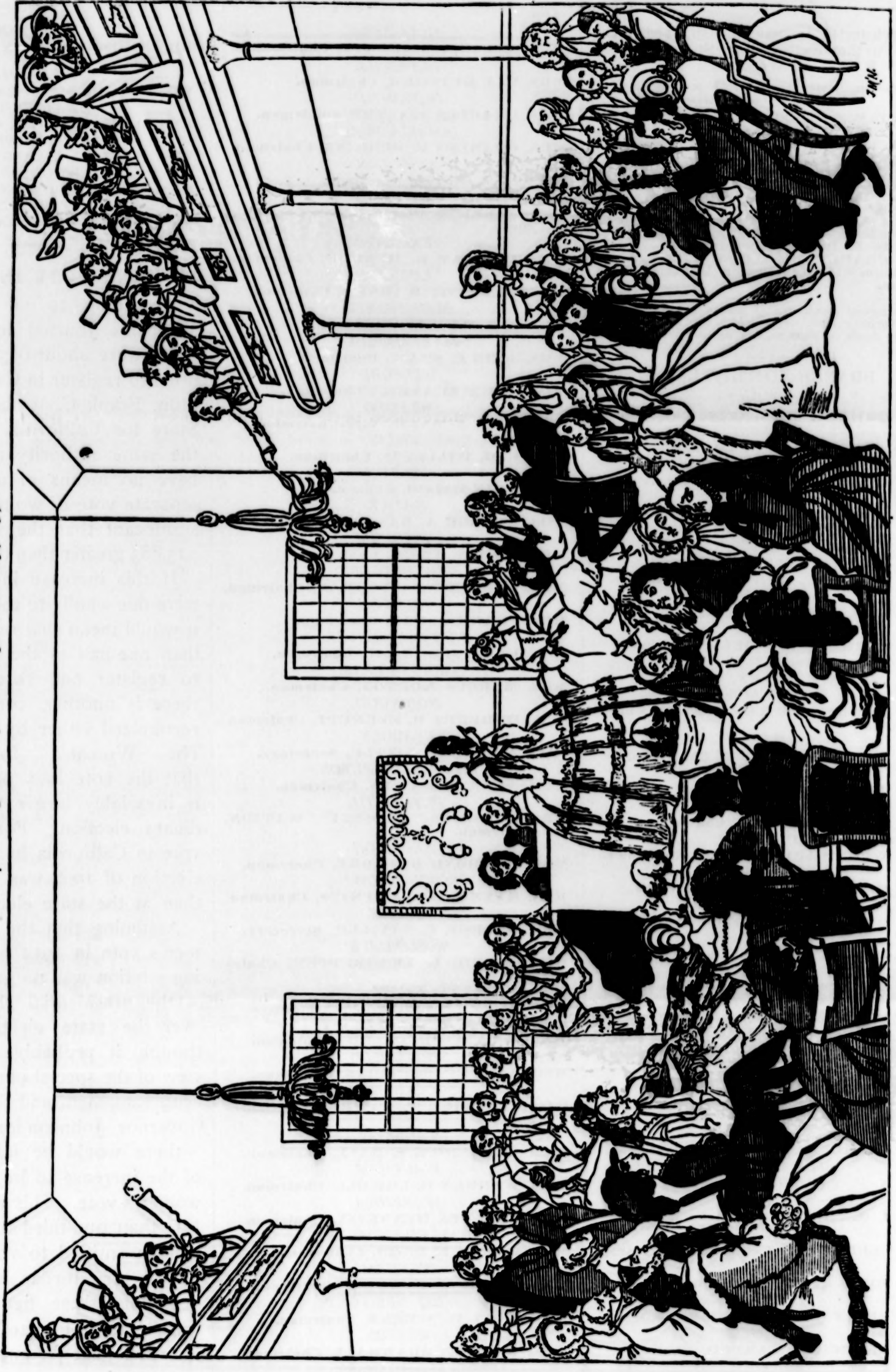
Assuming that the increase in the men's vote in 1912 over the preceding election was no greater than that of the presidential election of 1908 over the state election of 1906,—though it probably was larger, in view of the special excitements of the 1912 campaign, and the candidacy of Governor Johnson for Vice-President—there would be left only 199,936 of the increase to be credited to the women's vote. This would mean that less than one-third of the California women entitled to vote did so.

Secretary Jordan is quite right in regarding these figures as "significant" but not exactly in the sense in which The Woman's Journal interprets them.

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AN ANCIENT CARTOON OF AN EARLIER FEMINISM

Reproduced from Harper's Weekly, 1859.



Y^r MAY SESSION OF Y^r WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION—Y^r ORATOR OF Y^r DAY DENOUNCING Y^r LORDS OF CREATION.

MRS. PANKHURST'S CAMPAIGN.

THE most significant result of Mrs. Pankhurst's recent money-raising campaign in the United States is the extent to which American suffrage leaders, even some of those hitherto regarded as conservative, definitely committed themselves to sympathy with militant methods, and contributed freely to their continuance.

Mrs. Pankhurst made no secret of the object of her mission. It was to raise money to carry on the work of the English "militants." Every dollar which she took back with her, whether in payment for lectures or from collections taken up at them, will be used to promote violence and hooliganism by English suffragettes,—the destruction of private mail, the breaking of store windows, the burning of churches, schools and residences and personal assaults upon cabinet ministers and judges. Every American suffragist who gave her welcome and paid for tickets to her lectures is a silent partner in her crimes.

There were at first some indications that the suffragists realized this. Some of their leaders deprecated the proposed tour. Two or three suffrage organizations declared that they would have nothing to do with her. Mrs. Mary Ware Dennett, secretary of the National Woman Suffrage Association, was quoted in the New York Tribune of Oct. 4 as saying:

"For a woman who has had her eyes on the main issue in her own work for so many years it is astonishingly oblivious of Mrs. Pankhurst to show so little imagination as not to consult American suffragists before planning her trip to find out whether her coming would prejudice the issue here."

A Hartford suffragist wrote in the Hartford Times of October 17, that American Suffragists considered the actions of English militants as detrimental to their cause as the actions of the I. W. W. and the McNamaras are to the labor cause, and asked: "Can any American suffragist con-

scientiously support the English militant leader by word, influence or money, if she is not prepared to carry out the same program here?"

But these misgivings soon vanished. According to Mrs. L. Brackett Bishop of Chicago,—Mrs. Pankhurst's hostess in that city—as quoted by the Chicago Record-Herald of Oct. 8, the expenses of Mrs. Pankhurst's tour were borne by the central committee of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association of which Mrs. Dennett is secretary; and, when Mrs. Pankhurst spoke at Hartford, it was the retiring president of the Connecticut Suffrage Association who presided and introduced her.

At New York, Mrs. Rheta Childe Dorr, editor of the new suffrage organ at Washington, shared her experiences on Ellis Island. She was entertained at the home of Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, the largest financial promoter of the suffrage cause. A dinner was given in her honor by the Women's Political Union, the president of which organization, Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, presided. Mrs. Belmont, Miss Fola la Follette and other leading suffragists sat on the stage with her at the rather disappointing meeting at the Madison Square Garden. At Chicago, Miss Jane Addams gave a luncheon in her honor. At Dayton, Ohio, she was entertained by the president of the Ohio Suffrage Association, who presided at her meeting. In Boston, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell and Miss Agnes E. Ryan of the Woman's Journal were members of the committee for her reception and were active in the luncheon given in her honor; and Mrs. Lionel Marks (Josephine Preston Peabody) in an interview in the Boston Post of Oct. 19, declared that American suffragists should listen to Mrs. Pankhurst with respect "for she is a great character, a self-sacrificing heroine, whose name will go down as one of the most honored in history."

These instances might be multiplied indefinitely. While American suffragists were thus demonstrating their sympathy with Mrs. Pankhurst's reckless campaign of violence and were giving her money to carry it on, her followers on the other side were making daily new demonstrations of "militancy." October 24, they burned the sports pavilion at Bristol University. November 1, near Stirling, Scotland, they attacked with dog whips Premier Asquith and his

daughter. This particular performance, in an interview at Chicago (Springfield Republican, Nov. 2), Mrs. Pankhurst openly approved as "perfectly proper and another step in the cause for which we are fighting." At Newcastle, November 14, a suffragette entered the compartment of a train in which Mr. John Redmond and his wife were sitting, and, after declaring that he had not done enough for women, struck him on the head and his wife on the back, and then emptied a bag of flour over them both. At Bristol, on the same day a suffragette threw a dead cat at Mr. Augustine Birrell, chief secretary for Ireland, while he was addressing a public meeting. At the Old Bailey, London, November 15, suffragettes threw hammers at the presiding Judge, who had sentenced a militant for burning a mansion near London.

These are some of the militant methods which Mrs. Pankhurst, speaking at Providence November 14, said "are the same methods which won the independence of the United States." It has been insisted that, whether right or wrong, these methods have furthered the suffrage cause in England. But the fact is that the decline in the House of Commons vote for suffrage began with these demonstrations; and, outside of Mrs. Pankhurst's organization, English suffragists agree that their effect has been to set back the suffrage cause for years. October 18, just after Mrs. Pankhurst's arrival at New York, a meeting was held in London, attended by suffrage leaders of all shades, except Mrs. Pankhurst's organization, at which Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, formerly associated with Mrs. Pankhurst in the publication of Votes for Women spoke, urging the calling off of old scores and the organizing of all branches of suffragists for a new campaign along new lines without any violent methods.

These facts show that the militant methods, for which Mrs. Pankhurst and her faction of English suffragists stand, are as futile as they are criminal. But the point of main interest is that American suffragists are now pretty definitely committed to sympathy with them. Miss Blackwell, in the Woman's Journal, has declared that the English suffragettes "throw their stones and go to prison in a positively religious spirit." But it is not thus that most Americans understand religion.

THE HEARING AT WASHINGTON.

The hearing at Washington last month before the House Committee on Rules on the proposed creation of a standing committee on woman suffrage afforded a fine opportunity to anti-suffragists to place their arguments not only before the Committee but before Congress and the country. From the anti-suffrage point of view, the hearing was a splendid success. The Committee gave close attention to the arguments, and the Washington newspapers reported the anti-suffrage speakers very fully. So far as local sentiment in Washington is concerned, the character of the suffragist demonstrations and especially their interference with the inauguration ceremonies last March have gone far to alienate public sympathy.

Headed by Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, President of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, the representatives of the various anti-suffrage organizations marched to the House office building in a body. Among the anti-suffrage speakers were Mrs. Dodge, who directed attention to the fact that more than 90,000 women of voting age, were members of the Associations; Miss Alice Hill Chittenden of New York, who argued that the suffrage question was not a federal one, but should be left to the states; Mrs. Robert Garrett of Maryland, who declared that thousands of women in her state were actively opposed to the suffrage; Mrs. H. E. Talbot of Ohio, who enumerated the many measures in the interest of women and the public good which the women of that state, without the vote, had secured from the legislature; Miss Minnie Bronson, secretary of the National Association, who presented statistics of remedial legislation in various states, showing that it was not the suffrage but the non-suffrage states which led in such legislation; Mr. Charles L. Underhill of the Massachusetts legislature, who described the mischief done by

women in bringing religion into politics in school elections in Boston and other Massachusetts cities; Mrs. A. J. George of Massachusetts, who made a plea for the home rather than politics as the best outlet for women's activities; Mrs. P. D. Oliphant, secretary of the New Jersey Association, who stated that, of the more than 1,000 members of that Association, 90 per cent were wage-earners; Miss Emeline Pitt of Pittsburgh, secretary of the Iron Trades Central Council, who declared that not 25 per cent of American working women are interested in the ballot; Mrs. F. J. Goodwin of New Jersey, who cited instances of the triumph of the liquor interests where women had the ballot; Miss Lucy J. Price of Cleveland, who argued that the efficiency of the electorate would be decreased by equal suffrage, and asserted that the indifferent vote was a menace; and Mr. Everett P. Wheeler of New York, who spoke in behalf of the Man Suffrage Association.

Altogether, the importance of the hearing was not measured by the question immediately under consideration. The Senate has long had a committee on woman suffrage. That a similar committee should be appointed in the House is not a matter of any great moment, except so far as it gives encouragement to the suffragists. But it is a great thing to have had an opportunity to reach the whole country, through the reports of this hearing, with so strong a presentation of the anti-suffrage position.

PRESIDENT WILSON UNMOVED.

The National Suffrage Convention at Washington passed a resolution calling upon President Wilson to send a special message to Congress urging favorable action upon the proposed suffrage amendment to the Constitution "before any other legislation," and a delegation of sixty was appointed to press this demand upon the President in person.

But the President was unmoved. He received the delegates courteously, but firmly; and told them that, whatever his private views might be on any question, he did not feel free to urge upon Congress any policy which had not had the organic consideration of those for whom he was spokesman, that is, the party which he represents.

This reason for refusing to do what the suffragists asked of him will hold good until there has been a national convention of the Democratic party; and as no such convention will meet until just prior to the presidential campaign of 1916, the suffragists, however reluctantly, will have to accept his decision as final.

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL should revise its list of what it calls "free" States,—meaning full suffrage States. As it now stands, it includes Alaska, which is not a state, and Illinois, where women are exercising a limited suffrage under a law of doubtful constitutionality.

MISS INEZ MILHOLLAND, some months ago, in a speech at Plainfield, N. J., said: "The Anti-Suffrage League is endorsed by and has in several instances accepted financial support from the National Brewers' Association." Miss Milholland should have known, though perhaps she did not, that this charge has been repeatedly and officially denied by the Anti-Suffrage Association. There is no foundation whatever for it. Now we have an explicit denial from the other party to the alleged transaction. Mr. Hugh F. Fox, Secretary of the Brewers' Association, has published the following statement:

"The lady is absolutely misinformed in both particulars. The Anti-Suffrage Association has never been endorsed by the United States Brewers' Association (to which, of course, she refers). We have not contributed any money, directly or indirectly, to their cause, nor have we been asked to do so, though we have had appeals from the other side."

MEN'S "CRUMBLING WALLS."

To the Editor of THE REMONSTRANCE:

May I draw the attention of your readers to the closing paragraph of that startling article—"The Militant Women—and Women"—in the November Century? Edna Kenton, its author, follows her arguments to their logical conclusions with clearness and candor, and some of her admissions are most significant.

Like most feminists, Miss Kenton assumes as one of the next steps to be taken in the "self-development of women" their "economic independence." Innocent as the phrase sounds, conservative women have long realized that it held ominous possibilities for childhood. "The regular hours and methodical nature of business and professions" may be, as a prominent suffragist has pointed out, "less wearing than the incessant cares of house-keeping," but they certainly take a woman more away from her children.

The effect of woman's "economic independence" on *man* has not been so much considered. But can any thoughtful woman reflect on the world as she sees it now, made up of all sorts and conditions of men, and doubt that man needs the responsibility of maintaining the home for his own "self-development"? The change that comes over an irresponsible, heedless young fellow with marriage and parenthood is one of everyday observation. It would be hard to devise any better discipline for headstrong young manhood.

Nature has made between the sexes an unequal division of the burdens of parentage, as no one realizes more keenly—and bitterly—than the feminists. It has been the effort of civilization—and of Christianity, which Miss Kenton flouts so easily—to equalize the burden as far as possible by giving to man the labor of sustaining mother and child. It is not a light labor, but heavy, persistent and unremitting. Under it man has developed, and risen. Without it, can he help sinking back?

Miss Kenton, in her closing paragraph to which I refer, admits this difficulty, and admits it in very striking language. "If women are at a loss before the sight of their new world, men are to stand more aghast before the crumbling walls of their old one. The keystone is falling; women are refusing, and must refuse, to accept the old ideals of the relations

between men and women. . . One of man's greatest spurs to action is taken from him, with no other incentive equally compelling yet given in its place."

Anti-suffragists are often accused of failing to take an optimistic view. Their pessimism certainly does not see the world black enough to call for revolutions like these.

LILY RICE FOXCROFT.
Cambridge, Mass.

ILLINOIS TOWN ELECTIONS.

The statement has been so widely circulated that the votes of women carried over from the "wet" to the "dry" column most of the towns in southern Illinois that voted on the liquor question last November that it seems worth while to show exactly what happened. From the reports published in the Chicago Inter-Ocean and Record-Herald the following facts are gleaned:

In 16 of the 28 towns which voted, the elections did not change the existing status. Jacksonville, Virginia, Coulterville, Batchtown, Hardin, Hamburg, Carlin, Battery Rock, Cave-in-Rock and Rosiclare, which had been "dry" remained so; Mound City, Mound, Steelville, Brussels, Golden Eagle, and Duquoin, which had been "wet" remained "wet." The vote in Kampsville was a tie.

This leaves 11 towns, formerly "wet" which became "dry" by reason of the elections, viz.: East Beards-town, Petersburg, Willisville, Pinckneyville, Grand Chain, Ullin, Thebes, Brookport, Perry, Baldwin, and Rockwood. In all of these places, a majority of the women voted "dry"; and in some of them it is probable that their votes changed the result. This is not true, however, of Petersburg, where the men's vote alone would have carried the town "dry."

Of the 6 "wet" towns which stayed "wet," Duquoin is the only one in which the reports indicate how the women voted. It is stated that there the women's vote was "about evenly divided."

It will be perceived that these elections afford but a slender basis for general statements. A fair conclusion seems to be that, in small towns and villages, such as nearly all of the places above reported are, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union type of woman is still active and may be counted on to reenforce the temperance vote; while in the larger places,—as in Duquoin—the women's

vote will divide about evenly. Even in small places, the vote of women is not always to be counted on against the saloons. Thus, the town of Redondo Beach, California,—a place of about 3,000 population—was recently carried "wet" and the result is attributed to the women's vote. At least, while women of one type were praying in the churches, those of another type were speaking from the curbstones, from soap boxes and other improvised places in behalf of the saloons.

NEW ZEALAND has been described as "a land without strikes" and the suffragists have attributed this blissful condition to the women's vote. Yet last November, New Zealand was the scene of a bitter struggle between the employers and the Federation of Labor, attended by a general strike, a shortage of food and fuel, and great privations among the poor. By an interesting coincidence, Colorado, also a state where women's political house-keeping prevails, was at the same time passing through a miners' strike of such a character as to require all the state militia to maintain order.

TWO DISAPPOINTED SUFFRAGISTS.**In Colorado.**

(Mrs. Anna Kelley, of Grand Junction, Col., in the Detroit Free Press.)

I worked very hard to get the franchise for women in Colorado, and since 1894, when it was granted, I have voted, but were the question put to a vote in Colorado to-day whether or not to continue to grant the franchise to women, I would vote to recall it and fully half the women in Colorado would vote the same as I.—I know the conditions in my own state are not bettered after nineteen years of equal franchise. Nineteen years is long enough to try it out.

In California.

(Miss Annie Bock, former secretary of the California Political Equality League.)

It takes some fortitude to come out and acknowledge that one has been wrong, but after due observation, study and deliberation, I am willing to make such a confession. I gave, without remuneration, a year of my life working for suffrage, and if I had it to do over again, I would work as hard against it. I consider the result not only unsatisfactory and disappointing, but disastrous.

NOTES ON SUFFRAGE AND ANTI-SUFFRAGE

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT has discovered a short and easy way to the suffrage. In her address at the Washington convention she said: "If the Constitution stands in our way, let's tear it up and make a new one."

NEW JERSEY SUFFRAGISTS now concede that the action of the last legislature on the suffrage amendment was nullified by the failure to advertise the amendment in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. The work on the amendment must be begun again.

THE SUFFRAGE CONVENTION at Washington adopted a motion "demanding" that President Wilson "make the Woman Suffrage amendment an Administration measure," recommend it "immediately" to Congress, and "insist" that it be considered "before taking up any other legislation whatsoever." In view of the outcome, these imperatives are a little amusing.

MRS. PANKHURST, questioned at New York as to whether the militants would sanction the taking of human life, replied dramatically: "Life is sacred to women because they know how much it costs. We women take life? Absurd. Impossible." Yet, as the Boston Advertiser pointed out, in at least seven instances last year admitted attempts were made by followers of the Pankhurst organization to set on fire dwelling houses in which persons were asleep when the fires started. That human life was not sacrificed was no fault of the militants.

A TECHNICAL QUESTION of some importance has arisen in the state of Washington which affects the validity of the constitutional amendment conferring full woman suffrage. The constitution of Washington provides that proposed amendments shall be engrossed on the records of both houses of the legislature. It appears that all the amendments acted on at

RECENT DEFEATS OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE

In 1911

In Connecticut, a municipal suffrage bill was rejected by the House by a vote of 168 to 49; in Illinois the House refused to suspend the rules to consider a local option suffrage bill; in Iowa, Maine, Michigan and Montana, resolutions providing for the submission of suffrage amendments were defeated; in Massachusetts, a resolution providing for the submission of a suffrage amendment was rejected by large majorities in both branches of the legislature, and adverse reports of committees on tax-paying municipal bills were accepted by both branches without debate; in Missouri a bill to make women eligible as school directors was defeated; in New York, both houses refused to advance a resolution providing for the submission of a constitutional amendment; in South Dakota, a proposed constitutional amendment giving full suffrage to women tax-payers was rejected by the House; in Vermont, the House defeated a bill to give women the right to vote at local option elections.

In 1912

In Maryland, the House, by a vote of 74 to 18, rejected a bill which provided for submitting a suffrage amendment; in New Jersey a resolution to submit a suffrage amendment was defeated in the Senate, 17 to 3; in New York, a suffrage-amendment resolve was defeated in both branches of the legislature; in Massachusetts, a constitutional amendment-resolve was defeated in the Senate by a vote of 17 to 20, and in the House by a vote of 96 to 116, including pairs; in New Hampshire, the Constitutional Convention, by a roll-call vote of 208 to 149, rejected a proposed amendment giving full suffrage to women; in Ohio, a proposed suffrage amendment to the constitution was defeated at the polls, September 3, by a majority of 87,455, only 19 out of 88 counties giving majorities in favor of it; in Louisiana, a constitutional amendment to allow women to hold educational and charitable offices was defeated at the polls; in Wisconsin, a proposed suffrage amendment to the constitution was defeated at the polls by a majority of 91,479; in Michigan, a similar amendment was defeated at the polls by a majority of 760.

In 1913

In Arkansas an amendment resolve was defeated in the House, 55 to 35. In Connecticut, a resolve for the submission of a suffrage amendment was rejected by the House, 150 to 74.

In Delaware, a proposed suffrage amendment was defeated in the Senate.

In Florida, May 2, the House rejected a suffrage amendment resolution by a vote of 26 to 38. In Indiana, a school suffrage bill was withdrawn, and a proposed suffrage amendment was indefinitely postponed.

In Maine, the House defeated a resolve for the submission of a suffrage amendment; and later voted down, 55 yes to 71 no, a motion to suspend the rules and reconsider the adverse vote. To pass the motion, a two-thirds vote was required.

In Massachusetts, the Committee on Constitutional Amendments reported, 7 to 4, leave to withdraw on a suffrage amendment. The House substituted the amendment-resolve by a vote of 127 to 70. Later the resolve was defeated: 144 for to 88 against, 176 affirmative votes being necessary to adoption. The Election Laws Committee reported adversely the so-called Drury bill, which proposed to submit the question of the expediency of the suffrage to both men and women, and the adverse report was accepted.

In Michigan, a proposed constitutional amendment conferring full suffrage upon women was defeated at the polls by a majority of 96,144. A similar amendment was defeated in November, 1912, by only 760 majority.

In Minnesota, a bill to submit a suffrage amendment was rejected by the Senate, Feb. 15, by a vote of 31 to 25.

In Missouri, a proposed suffrage amendment was defeated in the Senate, March 14, 9 voting in favor of the amendment and 16 against.

In Nebraska, the House defeated a proposed amendment, 47 voting in favor of the proposal and 51 against.

In New Hampshire, a bill conferring Presidential suffrage, and municipal and county suffrage upon women was defeated in the House, March 18, 98 voting in favor to 239 opposed.

In North Carolina, a bill for the submission of a suffrage amendment was defeated.

In Texas, a proposed suffrage amendment was defeated in the Senate, 8 voting in favor to 19 against.

In West Virginia, the Senate defeated a proposed suffrage amendment, 13 voting in favor and 16 against; and the House by a vote of 26 in favor to 58 opposed.

In Wisconsin, a bill for the re-submission of the amendment which was rejected at the polls in November 1912 was passed by the legislature, but vetoed by the Governor.

the session before the last were engrossed on the Senate records but not on those of the House. The issue has been raised on the amendment providing for the recall; but if that amendment is invalidated, the same decision will apply to the initiative and referendum amendment and the woman suffrage amendment.

A BOSTON WOMAN, asking to be enrolled as a member of the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women, and enclosing a small subscription, writes:

"I wish that I had \$100,000 to contribute; but I am a working woman, like thousands of others wide awake to the mischief the suffragists are doing, but unable to do much to fight them."

Such expressions are a cheering

indication that the real menace of the suffrage movement is beginning to be realized.

IN EAST BOSTON, assaults by men upon young girls have become so frequent that public meetings, representing all classes and creeds, have been held to consider measures for checking the evil. One of the measures urged is a curfew ordinance. Girls under ten are found roaming the streets after midnight and fall easy victims to unscrupulous men. The suffragists will scarcely claim that this is an evil which will be cured by "votes for women." There is no lack of laws for crimes like these, nor of courts to enforce them. What is needed is not that women should be drawn off into politics, but that they should attend more faithfully to the duties of home.